

Message Text

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 01232 190639Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15
IO-13 SSM-05 DHA-02 /095 W
-----190648 109140 /11

P R 181531Z FEB 77 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4945
USDEL SECRETARY AMMAN
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY DOHA
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY MANAMA
AMEMBASSY MUSCAT
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI
AMEMBASSY SANAA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
USINT BAGHDAD
USLO RIYADH
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

UNCLAS TEL AVIV 1232

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS R.)
SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 TEL AV 01232 190639Z

1. HAARETZ'S DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT (GOLAN) WORTE EXTENSIVELY FEBRUARY 18 OF SECRETARY VANCE'S STYLE AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY. BY COMPARISON WITH KISSINGER, GOLAN WROTE, VANCE IS THE ONE WHO INSPIRES REAL CONFIDENCE. HE IS BRIEF AND TO THE POINT, LAUGHS AT A GOOD JOKE BUT NEVER TELLS ONE, IS SERIOUS, AND HAS THE MANNER OF A LAWYER; IN HIS QUIET WAY, VANCE KNOWS HOW TO INSPIRE CON-

FIDENCE. AFTER THESE PREFATORY REMARKS ON STYLE, GOLAN ENUMERATED THE ISSUES VANCE DISCUSSED IN ISRAEL. HE AGREED TO EXPLORE ALLON'S PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERIM AGREEMENT BETWEEN LEBANON AND ISRAEL WHILE IN BEIRUT.

2. ON FUTURE ISRAELI-ARAB AGREEMENTS, HE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN ALL POSSIBILITIES, BUT SEEMED TO PREFER AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT IMPLEMENTED IN STAGES.

3. ON THE PLO, THE SECRETARY PRESSED THE ISRAELIS ON WHAT THEIR POSITION WOULD BE IF THE PLO CHANGED ITS VIEWS; WHEN THEY REPLIED THAT THE PLO WOULD NO LONGER BE THE PLO IN THAT CASE, HE ASKED WHETHER HE COULD BE FREE TO UNDERSTAND THAT ISRAEL WOULD THEN BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE. CERTAINLY NOT, THE ISRAELIS RETORTED, BECAUSE ISRAEL IS OPPOSED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE ON THE WEST BANK. (VANCE'S LISTENERS, ACCORDING TO GOLAN, BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT FIND A WEST BANK PALESTINIAN STATE PARTICULARLY HORRIFYING, AND WOULD REGARD THE OBSTACLE TO NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PLO REMOVED IF THE PLO MODERATES ITS POSITIONS. THIS DEEP DIFFERENCE OF VIEWS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL IS LIKELY TO BECOME TYPICAL BEFORE LONG, ACCORDING TO GOLAN.)

4. ON SECURITY, THE SECRETARY SUGGESTED THAT IT COULD BE BASED ON TERRITORIAL BORDERS, ON GUARANTEES, AND/OR ON THE TIME ELEMENT, I.E., AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT BY STAGES. THE ISRAELIS INSISTED THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES COULD GUARANTEES OR TIME-PHASING BE THE QUID PRO QUO FOR AN OVERALL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE TERRITORIES AND FOR PEACE, EVEN IF IT IS THE KIND OF PEACE ISRAEL IS ASPIRING FOR.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 TEL AV 01232 190639Z

CUMSTANCES COULD GUARANTEES OR TIME-PHASING BE THE QUID PRO QUO FOR AN OVERALL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE TERRITORIES AND FOR PEACE, EVEN IF IT IS THE KIND OF PEACE ISRAEL IS ASPIRING FOR.

5. GOLAN'S WRAP-UP INCLUDED BRIEF MENTION OF THE SOVIET UNION'S ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE EFFORTS; THE Kfir SALES ISSUE AND CONCUSSION BOMBS; AND OIL DRILLING IN THE GULF OF SUEZ, FOR WHICH VANCE HAD SUGGESTED A JOINT LEGAL COMMITTEE TO EXAMINE U.S.-ISRAEL DIFFERENCES AND HOW TO BRIDGE THEM.

6. AL HAMISHMAR'S POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT (SHEHORI) WROTE THAT THE MOST SURPRISING THING ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S VISIT IS THAT IT CONTAINED NO SURPRISES (LIKE KISSINGER'S "RABBITS PULLED FROM THE HAT"). CYRUS VANCE THE DIPLOMAT: "DRY, KEEN WITTED, QUIET, SERIOUS, SYMPATHETIC" AND MEETINGS WHICH WERE "AN INTELLECTUAL PLEASURE" AND MARKED BY A MANNER WHICH WAS "CULTURED, DELIBERATE,

METHODICAL." CONTRARY TO KISSINGER, VANCE MAKES NOTES, LEAPS THROUGH THEM, READS ASKS SHORT, INCISIVE QUESTIONS, AND ABOVE ALL, KNOWS HOW TO LISTEN. HE DOES NOT HAVE MARATHON TALKS, LAST-MINUTE SCHEDULE CHANGES, A "SENIOR OFFICIAL" ON THE PLANE TO HARNESS JOURNALISTS TO HIS DIPLOMATIC NEEDS. THE POLITICAL OPTIONS PRESENTED BY THE ISRAELIS TO VANCE WERE LISTENED TO WITH NO OBJECTION OR RESERVATION VOICED, BUT NEITHER WITH ANY REINFORCEMENT OFFERED. RE THE PLO, VANCE DID POSE A NEW CONDITION BY SAYING THAT, IN ADDITION TO ACCEPTATION RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, THE PALESTINIAN COVENANT MUST BE CHANGED BEFORE THE PLO BECOME ACCEPTABLE NEGOTIATING INTERLOCUTORS. AFTER REVIEWING THE POINTS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE U.S., SHEHORI ADDED THAT SECRETARY VANCE HAS NOT MADE A SINGLE SLIP THUS FAR, NOR GIVEN A SINGLE EXCUSE TO ANY SIDE FOR DISPLEASURE OR CRITICISM OVER HIS REMARKS. HIS VISIT INSPIRES HOPE.
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PAGE 04 TEL AV 01232 190639Z

7. IN ITS EDITORIAL COMMENT, HAARETZ WONDERES WHETHER ISRAELI LEADERS KNOW MORE NOW OF THE POLITICAL INTENTIONS OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECRETARY VANCE THAN THEY DID PRIOR TO THE SECRETARY'S VISIT. VANCE'S ROLE OF AN "ACTIVE LISTENER" SIGNALS A "NEW STYLE IN AMERICAN DIPLOMACY." THE NEW SECRETARY ASKS SHORT BUT SEARCHING QUESTIONS, AND DOES NOT RADIATE THE SAME AURA OF INTIMACY THAT FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER DID. "NOT THAT WE HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT MR. VANCE DOES NOT CONSIDER ISRAEL A FRIEND OF THE U.S.," HAARETZ WRITES, "BUT IT IS OBVIOUS THAT HE DOES NOT REGARD US AS THE ONLY FRIEND THE U.S. WILL FIND IN THESE PARTS."

8. AL HAMISHMAR ALSO NOTES THE NEW STYLE OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, FINDING THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS MORE RELAXED, AND TRIES TO PUT MORE EMPHASIS ON MUTUAL PERSUASION. NO RIGID RULES HAVE BEEN LAID DOWN, A "GENEVA-TYPE" FRAMEWORK HAS BEEN SUGGESTED, AND PREPARATIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1977 HAVE BEEN STRESSED. POINTS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL HAVE BEEN UNDERLINED, PARTICULARLY REGARDING THE INADMISSABILITY OF THE PLO TO GENEVA SO LONG AS THE COVENANT IS UNCHANGED AND RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 ARE UNRECOGNIZED. IN SUM, THE SECRETARY'S VISIT WAS ENCOURAGING.

9. DAVAR URGES THAT ISRAEL, ALTHOUGH PREOCCUPIED WITH INTERNAL AFFAIRS, MUST NONETHELESS MAKE PREPARATIONS NOW FOR THE UPCOMING TALKS AT GENEVA BY DRAWING UP WORKING DOCUMENTS, PROPOSALS AND PROGRAMS SO THAT THE

INITIATIVE IS NOT RELINQUISHED TO THE ARAB COUNTRIES.
IT IS NEVER TOO EARLY TO BE PREPARED, DAVAR SAYS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
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Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition Comment:
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Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
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Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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From: TEL AVIV
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Litigation Code IDs:
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Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: f864f2c3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
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Review Event:
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Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3276671
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MEDIA REACTION UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED
TAGS: OVIP, IS, (VANCE, CYRUS R)
To: STATE SECRETARY MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/f864f2c3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009